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## ABSTRACT

This paper describes how the computer program "Elections," was used to trace voting patterns during Super Tuesday, the U.S. presidential primary elections held on March 5, 1988. The voting results were entered into the computer as the primary returns were reported on national television. The computer mapping provided an improved means for ascertaining how aggregate votes were distributed. The voting data were entered at the county level, from primary candidates selected, and by votes compared through tracking of voting behavior. Five references and a one-page summary of the "Elections" program are included. (DJC)

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## COMPUTER MAPPING SUPER TUESDAY RESULTS IN THE SOUTH

by

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On March 5, 1988 voters from Maryland to Texas voted in the presidential primary elections termed "Super Tuesday." Besides the states of the Old Confederacy, this analysis includes the border states of Maryland and Kentucky; Missouri as Dick Gephardt's home state; and Oklahoma (home of Oral Roberts) to additionally measure Pat Robertson's religious support.

In these 15 states holding presidential primaries (only South Carolina Democrats held a caucus), the leading candidate totals were: Bush 2.6 million; Gore and Jackson tied at 2.4 million votes each; and Dukakis 2.1 million. (The county returns were obtained from each secretary of state, whose cooperation is gratefully acknowledged.)

Computer mapping enables an improved technical means for ascertaining how these aggregate votes were distributed (see the References). While color printouts are too expensive to include in each copy of this convention paper, a one page description of each of the types of maps produced by the ELECTIONS computer program is appended.

First, an overview, showing the Democratic primary winner in each state from Maryland to Texas. A second type of map shows George Bush's percentage of the vote in the Republican primaries. His solid 60%+ margin was only diminished by Dole and Robertson in the Carolinas, and the three states adjacent to Bob Dole's Kansas.

The "preview" of the 1988 southern primaries began the Saturday before "Super Tuesday," on March 5 with the South Carolina Republican primary. Pat Robertson's hopes ended when he failed to reach 40% in any county, including the area around Ft. Mill, home of the evangelical theme park Heritage U.S.A.. This author was in Charleston giving a paper at The Citadel that weekend, and after entering

the county returns as they came in, wrote off Robertson, while the media was still considering him as a viable candidate on Tuesday. Rev. Robertson did subsequently carry scattered rural counties in Arkansas and Florida, where turnout in the GOP primary election was very low and a handful of supporters could make a difference.

Super Tuesday effectively ended Bob Dole's hope of entree into the South via his wife, a native of North Carolina. Republicanism is largely urban there, and only Rowan County, Elizabeth Dole's hometown of Salisbury, went for Dole by 60%.

On the Democratic side, we'll begin looking at the state results with "the Mother of Presidents," Virginia. The Democratic division is striking: Dukakis carried the Washington, D.C. suburbs in Virginia, plus a couple of the "horse and hound" estate counties; Gore the Blue Ridge and Shenandoah Valley; and Jackson the Piedmont and Tidewater below the fall line.

These computer maps often illustrate Daniel Elazar's concepts of state political cultures. One of my colleagues from Oklahoma pointed out how Gore carried that state except two Panhandle counties (Texas and Beaver) settled by Germans went for Gephardt, along with Ottawa, the Oklahoma county bordering Missouri. In the Republican primary, the northern Oklahoma wheat counties went for their Kansas neighbor Bob Dole, presumably hurt by Reagan/Bush Administration farm policies. Bush strength was in southern (cotton belt) and urban areas, and Pat Robertson got over 60% in three rural timber counties which had few GOP voters turn out.

As seen in the first map, Jesse Jackson carried the Deep South states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana (having won the latter first in the 1984 presidential primary).

Louisiana's "Super Tuesday" vote was fragmented among all the presidential candidates, reflective of the state's jambalaya politics. It suggests the state's unique open primary system used

in the 1987 gubernatorial race further muddied the presidential waters in 1988. Rather than Robertson doing well in northern Bible-belt Louisiana, he only carried Cajun country (Acadia, Cameron, and Vermillion parishes) where few voted in the Republican presidential primary. Bush carried every other parish with 84,000 votes compared to Robertson's 26,000 and Dole's 25,000. The Democratic vote was completely splinted among all candidates. Jackson led in many parishes only by a plurality for a total of 221,000 votes. Gore carried predominately white parishes as well as those along the northern border which have recently voted Republican in presidential elections (Black & Black, 1987; 267). Gore's 175,000 total was undoubtedly diminished by 66,000 votes for Gephardt, who failed to carry a single parish. Dukakis' 96,000 votes were concentrated in New Orleans (12,000) and its commuting parishes: Jefferson (13,000) from Metairie and Kenner southwest to Houma (Terrebonne parish); St. Bernard ("Orleans East" on I-10), and "across the Lake" on the causeway to St. Tammany parish (Slidell).

In other Deep South states, "Super Tuesday," Democratic vote was bifurcated: Jackson did very well in predominately Black counties, and Gore in the white ones.

In Mississippi, Jackson carried the Delta and Gore the white hill counties, except for Hancock County, home of NASA's test site whose engineers went for Dukakis.

The same pattern occurred in North Carolina which split between western counties for Gore, and the east for Jackson, except for Orange County, home of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, whose Democratic voters favored Dukakis.

In Alabama, Jackson was the leading candidate in the "Black Belt" (named for the rich band of soil across the middle of the

state which favored plantation agriculture) and counties with urban Black populations: Jefferson (Birmingham), Mobile, Montgomery, and Tuscaloosa.

But Jesse Jackson received white votes on Super Tuesday, long before the national media discovered this fact in Michigan.

Consider Georgia: Jackson and Gore split the state, but Jackson carried approximately 20 counties by 60% or more, when only 10 Georgia counties contain a majority of voters who are Black. In Forsyth County which had national media coverage of 1987 demonstrations protesting its all-white population after Blacks were driven out in a 1912 lynching, Jesse Jackson received 117 votes (of 2539 cast) in the 1988 Democratic primary. In three other counties (Gilmer, Towns and Union) listed by the Georgia Secretary of State (Cleland, 1988) as having "100% white registered voters", Rev. Jackson received 3% of the Democratic primary votes cast.

Our remaining time will be devoted to the two big ones: Florida and Texas. They are in, but increasingly not "of" the South. This is one reason why they are considered competitive in the 1988 presidential campaign (at least at the time of writing in early October).

Florida has surpassed Pennsylvania as the nation's fourth largest state, and is fascinating to analyze as its demographics increasingly reflect the country's. In the 1988 Democratic primary, Hart's candidacy collapsed, after his having won the Florida primary in 1984. Jesse Jackson carried Jacksonville (Duval Co.), and the majority Black counties like Gadsden along the Georgia border. Al Gore's strength was concentrated in the Panhandle, often called the "Redneck Riviera" along the Gulf, and Dukakis carried the rest of the state. Among Republicans, Bush was the overwhelming favorite, except in rural counties where only a few vote in the GOP primary, Robertson or Dole supporters carried four counties.

The ELECTIONS computer program allows us to compare candidates

who never ran against each--- in this case not until November! To measure Super Tuesday competitiveness, let's match the county by county votes that Bush and Dukakis received in their respective primaries in Florida and Texas. Rather than the normal shades of "red hot" Democrats and "true blue" Republicans, the computer program shows hypothetical matches in yellows, suggesting a note of caution to us.

In the first map, the numerical vote received by Dukakis in the 1988 Florida Democratic primary (507,220) is subtracted in each county from the Republican primary vote that Bush received (543,560). Each candidate's vote can be compared in either order in the ELECTIONS program; the candidate being compared will always have darker shades indicating a positive county by county margin, and lighter shades with minus sign numbers in counties where that particular candidate is running behind his or her opponent. The computer statistically calculates a five interval range, with neutral gray color in the median (middle) category. The practical political suggestion from this Florida map is that Bush did well in Dade Co. (Miami, and St. Petersburg relative to Dukakis, but perhaps took the Gold Coast (Palm Beach and Broward Counties) too much for granted in the primary. Bush also ran behind in Hillsborough (Tampa) and Duval (Jacksonville) Counties. Therefore to improve their margin in November, Bush's political advertising might well be invested in the Arbitron ADIs (media market "areas of dominant influence") of Tampa-St. Pete and West Palm Beach-Ft. Pierce-Vero Beach. In contrast, Dukakis did better in Alachua, Leon, and Duval counties, the respective sites of the universities of Florida (Gainesville), Florida State (Tallahassee), and U. of North Florida (Jacksonville), and these would be recruiting areas for volunteers this fall. Dukakis trails Bush

along the southwest Gulf coast, so fall campaign appearances might be scheduled with the Greek/American divers at Tarpon Springs south to Sarasota and the Ft. Myers-Naples ADI. Dukakis should probably campaign in Spanish along Miami's "Calle Ocho, Little Havana" seeking to draw Cuban-American voters away from their past support of Reagan/Bush. Dukakis also needs to catch up with Bush in the fast-growing Orlando-Daytona Beach-Melbourne area if he hopes to carry Florida.

In Texas, of 7.8 million registered voters, 1 million voted in the Republican primary, and 1.7 million in the 1988 Democratic race. Looking at the Democratic primary map, Dukakis campaigned in Spanish in south Texas. Blacks turned out for Jesse Jackson in urban counties, making him the leading candidate in such areas as Dallas, Ft. Worth, Odessa, Midland, Houston, and Beaumont. Gore did well in traditionally Democratic counties in north and east Texas. (Milam County is colored black on the map because Dukakis and Gephardt tied there on Super Tuesday.)

Dukakis carried the Texas Democratic primary with 579,533 votes, while George Bush received 648,178 Republican votes in his state of legal residence. After Sen. Bentsen joined the Democratic ticket, the Bentsen-Bush 1970 U.S. Senate race was added to the computer data file, but voting Republican has increased since then, although in 1988, there were still two dozen Texas counties in which not a single person voted in the Republican primary. Thus in the map comparing the Bush and Dukakis votes on Super Tuesday, the blank counties are those with no Republican primary election voters. The comparison map shows Bush running ahead of Dukakis in the Dallas-Ft. Worth-Denton ADI, Midland, Lubbock, and the Houston area. Dukakis fared better along the Rio Grande, Corpus Christi, San Antonio, and some counties in east Texas. The Bush campaign needs to buy advertising time on the Tyler and Longview stations,



and send his daughter in law Columba Bush to speak to fellow Chicanos in south Texas and El Paso.

In conclusion, it is important to remember that these computer maps present empirical data; the validity of the analysis rests upon the interpreter! Fellow panelists Professors Charles Hadley and Harold Stanley have written about the Super-Tuesday results:

"If the Gore and Gephardt votes are combined, this combination would place first in Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas in addition to the six states Gore or Gephardt carried as individuals. A Super Tuesday result in which the moderate candidate carried nine primary states, Dukakis four, and Jackson three, would have produced far more momentum for the moderate than did the actual results in which Gephardt carried a state and Dukakis, Gore, and Jackson each carried five." (Hadley & Stanley, 1988)

From looking at these county-level computer maps, it appears that the Democratic vote would still have been polarized between a "moderate" white Democrat, and Rev. Jesse Jackson. The Democratic party's presidential success depends upon the Blacks mobilized by the Jackson campaign turning out in November for the Democratic nominees. The Democrats also must rely on Southerners led by the established state and local Democratic leaders whose endorsements Senator Gore so eagerly sought. Rather than the traditional "coat-tails" effect in Presidential elections, Democratic success in 1988 in the South may well hinge on a "top hat" effect. Will Blacks turn out to vote for state or local nominees who are Black, plus the top of the Democratic ticket, and southern whites "come home", preferring a Dukakis/Bentsen "hard hat" promise of jobs than continue with the "top hat" Republicans? November's answer will decide the presidency in the South.

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ELECTIONS is a computer graphics program of election results copyrighted by political scientist David L. Martin. It presently displays hundreds of contested primary, runoff, and general elections in all 50 states:

1. Presidential, U.S. Senate, and Gubernatorial elections since 1976.
2. Congressional district elections in certain states. Additional election data can easily be added for display.
3. Selected primary, runoff, and contested general elections for some state offices: Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor, and Public Service Commissioners. Races not included can be added to the data base as needed.

Each ELECTIONS map shows how each county voted for candidates in elections, with color shade densities showing voting margins. Data can be entered live on election night as county returns come in. Six different types of maps can instantly be displayed in color on the computer screen, and county names can be shown, along with a moving pointer arrow:

Map 1 shows a candidate's percentage vote in each county.

Map 2 shows relative Democratic (red shades) and Republican (blue shades) candidates' strength in each county, emphasizing closely contested races.

Map 3 shows the leading vote getter in each county for up to five candidates, especially useful in displaying primary races.

Maps 4, 5 and 6 allow comparison between any two elections: two candidates running against each other; two candidates for different offices; or the same candidate in two different years. These are particularly useful for political analyses:

Map 4 compares the percentage margin of county vote.

Map 5 compares the county percentage of total vote.

Map 6 compares the difference in votes received county by county.

For example, Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidential primary vote could be compared with his 1984 performance, or one candidate's vote in that state, county by county, with any other candidate's results, thus allowing the computer to match opponents in any future race.

ELECTIONS users are able to compose titles for each map, with NTSC video output (interlaced and genlocked for broadcast), giving complete flexibility according to their needs. On a portable computer, the developer can offer this service anywhere.

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David L. Martin, Ph.D., is editor of Capitol, Courthouse, & City Hall, 7th ed. (Longman, 1988), and author of Running City Hall: Municipal Administration in America (U. of Alabama Press, 1982).